/206 cont./

628 At last the amount of the payment is definitively stipulated; so many animals, so many ornaments etc. The offenders fix a date on which they hope to have everything gathered together in the house of their leading man. The arbitrator goes there on that date, and through their arbitrator, or cacique, they hand over to him in a solemn manner each one of the things they have promised to pay, so that it can be finally and duly noted. The representative then gathers together everything that has been handed over and counts it very carefully in full view of everyone. He receives the ornaments agreed upon and puts them away.

He asks for help in taking the animals given in payment and the other objects to the lands of the others. Members of the group accept this charge at the order of their leader and drive the animals to the borders of the litigants' property, and then return. From there the livestock are taken by members of the offended clan to the house of the murdered man's mother or to that of his maternal uncles. The head of the family group receives from the hands of the arbitrator the stipulated payment and distributes it in a way that we shall see later on, in the pertinent section.

When feelings run very high on both sides and when after postponing and holding several different meetings no agreement is reached /207/ between the two groups, due to the exaggerated greediness of one side and the bad will of the other, the moment arrives when the arbitrator can do no more, and as the problem remains without a peaceful solution, that is, without an agreement to pay, war becomes the only acceptable formula between the two enemy groups, a defensive war on the part of the group to which the murderer belongs, an offensive war on the part of the offended group. Before they know if there is a possibility of a peaceful
●411 solution, the men of each group begin to arm themselves quickly;
278 they take animals to town to trade them for guns and equipment, and they quickly make bows and arrows, especially those with a point made from the sting ray which are used in war; they prepare poisons from poisonous animals, which they leave to rot and then use to put on the points of these arrows; and in addition, they seek, if possible, magic arrows in order to obtain an easy conquest of their enemy.

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[44 cont.]
some of the Guajiro communities during their pillaging expeditions.

The value of the arrow, considered to be infallible, stemmed from the extremely important fact that its tip was anointed with the blood of a sacrificed child. The arrow took into itself, by magic contamination, the sacred and impure quality of the sacrificial ceremony performed on the child, [45] a quality of extreme value when one realizes that the child's own father performed the sacrifice.

The process is as follows: The Kusina, according to the story of our informant, an Indian woman from the Sierra de Jarara who had heard from her parents a great deal about the customs of these Indians, with whom the people of the Sierra had had dealings, were accustomed to take a male child from their own family. They carried him off to some distant hills situated in the interior of the Cocina sierra. They took him up a particular mountain, and on its summit under a pó (a special tree) they killed him. He was killed in this way: They blocked up his nostrils and squeezed his throat with their hands, that is, they strangled him, and with a pointed stone they struck his forehead several times continuously until blood flowed from it. This blood, which was exactly what they wished to obtain in the sacrifice, was not allowed to spill, but was gathered very carefully in a very clean utensil. In recent times the blood was collected in an empty tin such as those used for sardines or salmon, but it is to be supposed that in olden times a special ceramic container was used. Once the blood had been collected, they put it to boil in the same utensil in which it had been collected. Next they put it in another that in modern times was a glass container, although in former times it must have been of some other material, in order to preserve it. This utensil which contained the boiled blood of the boy was kept in the woods among stones which they collected for this purpose. The executioner, who was none other than the boy's father, had prepared beforehand a quantity of arrows tipped with the poison of a ray, which he later anointed with the blood and distributed among the rest of the Kusina natives or the Guajiro in general, in exchange for livestock. The price that had to be paid for one of these arrows was

[45 cont.]

782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

682 683 826 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
779] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy; he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: *kaita* for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *ajuarral*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *simaré*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*guaraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death advances from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Cosinas of Yuripiche are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dress cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (*carabina*) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flint-lock (*carabina negrita pavonada*) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiros are collecting [illegible], divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Calcaño. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arhuaco. I have no space here to dwell upon its beauties, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of much-used words:—

Achinga, a name.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Tara, a headdress.
Tachinga, my name.	Tachita, my cup.	Tshipara, my headdress.
Pachinga, your name.	Pachita, your cup.	Pshipara, your headdress.
Wachinga, his name.	Wachita, his cup.	Wshipara, his headdress.
Nachinga, her name.	Nachita, her cup.	Nshipara, her headdress.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

lost their loads and the mule throwing the photographer, but we were all tired and not easily amused.

I did not want to stay at that rancho. Their reception had been friendly, but they had something against the Gaffer. I thought they had hesitated to receive him, and caution suggested that we ought to camp by ourselves, as long as we had people on whom we could not rely. Evening came and with it a slight, cooling breeze. Travelling was pleasant then without the heat of the sun. Knowing that the moon would rise early, we decided to go on as long as we could.

At midnight we halted in bright moonlight, lit a fire and made coffee. A couple of Indians came uninvited and squatted nearby. The coastal Indians had become infected with the vices of civilization and stole like jackdaws. We had already lost a number of small things at Arema and the other places on the coast, and had no wish to lose more. In Guajira you must take the law into your own hands.

We produced our firearms and set about cleaning them. We each had a rifle and a pistol, and also I had a number of pistols that I had bought cheap at auctions after the war and intended to use as objects of barter. We put up our camp beds under the open sky, laid our weapons beside them and told our Indians to 'sleep with one eye open', a phrase they themselves used. We assured them that we should do the same, and that our open eyes would be fixed on our baggage.

We knew that the Indians would be constantly starting up and looking round. No sound escaped their trained ears. We were not suspicious of their being in a conspiracy with the other Indians; in fact, they were quite frightened.

When we woke at daybreak, all was well. We packed up and set off again at once. Now and again we met naked Indians armed with bows and arrows. We gave tobacco to them all, as custom dictates. It is almost a sort of tax which white people have to pay in order to be able to travel in peace in Guajira. If you happen to be smoking one of the country's thin cigars and meet an Indian, you can, if you are in a hurry, take the cigar from your mouth and stick it into his, mutter a greeting, receive an answer, and ride on.

Although I had a compass and a map, such as it was,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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123 534 musical bow. It was quite small. He held one end between his lips and struck the strings with a stick. If the reed-flute was introduced by the Moors in those early days, the musical bow must have come with negro slaves. Stringed instruments were not known in South America before the arrival of the white man. The Indians knew nothing of all that, but neither of these two originally foreign instruments were used in their rites, which supports the conclusion that they were introduced late.

123 262 264 The concert was interrupted by the women announcing that a meal awaited us. This began with the oily, somewhat nauseous berries which the Creoles call olives. We did not like their taste and never did more than just sample them. We had also heard that they might be injurious. The main dish—one could almost say, naturally—consisted of boiled dried goat's meat, the standard fare in the peninsula, and we were given water that also tasted of goat—we preferred not to know why.

251 In Guajira it is possible to dry meat in the sun without salting it, providing you cut it in strips and remove all bone. In moister parts of the Caribbean countries meat has to be properly salted before it can be preserved by drying, but in the dry air of Guajira that can be dispensed with. Salt, too, is a thing of which they have more than enough.

123 526 Having four young men present, I thought I would arrange a competition for marksmanship with bow and arrow and with a sling. The prizes were an empty biscuit tin, a handkerchief and a needle. These were all desirable things and the contestants did their best. The fourth received a Swedish ten öre piece as consolation prize.

• 911 I took the opportunity to take a closer look at their weapons. The bows were powerful and had round sections; the arrows had iron heads shaped like a lancet. An old man said that in the old days the heads used to be made of bamboo. Some of the arrows, those intended for smaller birds, had blunt points made of wood or wax. The quarry was meant to be stunned by the force of the impact. They showed us arrows equipped with cross-pieces to prevent them becoming lost when used in the scrub. The cross-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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piece made the arrow stick in a bush, instead of piercing through it. Other arrows were realy harpoons. The head was fastened to the shaft by a string wound round it; it loosened on impact, and the shaft with its cross-piece stuck in the bush, preventing the wounded animal from escaping. One of the youths shot arrows that whistled when they flew through the air. The sound was made by a small hollow seed-case fixed to the shaft. I asked about poisoned arrows and after some hesitation, they produced one, the only one they had. They would not part with it.

Here, at last, was one of the notorious poisoned arrows for which both the Indians themselves and the white men entertained the greatest respect. As usual with South American arrows, this one was made of a light reed shaft, into which was stuck a plug of wood to which the actual head was fastened. This consisted of the tail-barb of a sting-ray. The early conquerors of this part of South America encountered Indians who used arrows with heads made of fish-spines. The point of these arrows is roughly four inches long; it is thin and narrow and has fine barbs. It is stuck into the wooden plug, which is split vertically, and secured with a binding of thread. The Indians showed us how easily it became detached. The barbs made it difficult to pull out, and they said that it often broke off, leaving a piece in the wound.

Sting-rays are not uncommon in the lagoons of the border areas of Guajira, and during the rains they are to be found everywhere. They follow the rivers up from the sea and seem to like shallow water, where they lie treacherously buried in the mud of the bottom. If you tread on one, it gives you a very nasty sting. Are they poisonous? Some people say that they are. Some travel writers of the present day have tried to give their readers that impression, but it is not correct. The wound, however, is painful and difficult to heal. It becomes easily infected, which is due to the membranes adhering to the sting. That is what the well-known toxicologist who made an exhaustive examination of my Guajiro arrows when I returned home stated. He pointed out that the sting-ray is also found in the Mediterranean,

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

136 and that one classic Greek author says that Odysseus himself died as the result of a thrust from a spear which had a ray's sting for a head. If that were the case, the head must have been poisoned, or else there was infection. The sting of the Mediterranean ray is not poisonous in itself. Guajiro arrows, however, are poisoned with a grey-yellow substance adhering to the head. The Indians carefully removed the reed case protecting the head and showed me the poison. I asked what the stuff was made of, but they did not know. That, they said, was the secret of the piaches, the medicine men; and they also said that they did not even know where the arrows came from, nor who prepared the poison. Francisco later assured us that they were telling the truth. Poisoned arrows were rare nowadays, he said, and difficult to come by. I told him to inquire about such arrows everywhere, and that I should gladly pay well for them. This he did, and I had got quite a little collection before I left Guajira. It is now priceless. The manufacture of poisoned arrows seems to have ceased a few years later.

The accounts of the Indians and white people agreed that no effect of the poison was felt until some days later; the wounded person had violent attacks of cramp which quickly caused death. The wound made by the brittle point was not serious in itself and never mortal, which made the effects of it seem all the more mysterious and fateful.

Celedon, a priest who wrote a description of the arrows in the nineteenth century, and several later writers, have said that the poison is prepared by pounding poisonous creatures, snakes, frogs, spiders and ants to a pulp, which is allowed to lie and rot. Eventually the pulp is boiled, and all sorts of precautions are taken, the preparation of poison being generally considered a hazardous undertaking. The details these writers give of all the poisonous animals used would seem to be apocryphal. The Indians like telling fantastic stories about the arrows, and even the early conquerors were regaled with them. However, if a mass consisting of rotting animal remains is thoroughly boiled there cannot be any live bacteria left to cause an infection, and as long as there was an interval before the 'poison' took

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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effect, it must have been a case of infection. The idea of animal pulp as poison for arrows dates back to the time of the conquistadores and the same tale has been repeated right up to our own day. 411

Examination of the substance on the poisoned arrows that I took back with me revealed that there were no animal remains to be seen under the microscope, despite all the talk of snakes and frogs, but there were vegetable fibres. Experiments on animals showed that frogs and mice reacted in the same way as people wounded by the arrows, dying after a while with symptoms similar to those of lock-jaw. Bacteriological examination resulted in the discovery of the spore and bacilli of tetanus. The astounding conclusion was that those wounded were simply infected with tetanus. The stuff on the arrow heads was dry and old, but the bacilli were evidently still active.

No other dangerous or poisonous components could be found; so it was obvious that the Indians somehow or other had managed to put something into the stuff that caused tetanus. This, it was considered, could not have been fortuitous, but must have been deliberate, since the effect was always the same. The Indians had told me, too, that lock-jaw was common in certain parts, and you had to be careful.

The Guajiros' bacteria-arrows, if we may call them that, were thus a weapon that did not have an immediate effect. The brittle arrowhead merely inflicted a painful wound, which normally would not incapacitate the person receiving it. These arrows were used, therefore, when a cruel revenge was to be exacted, the wounded person knowing that, inevitably, he would die in torment. That is the refinement of malice. A bullet is much more merciful. The expert who examined the arrows wrote: 'One must admit that the Guajiro arrows are made with satanic ingenuity.' The thin head with its delicate barbs easily breaks off and remains in the wound. It is mixed with a stuff that causes a disease which kills in a few days through painful attacks of cramp.

It would appear that the poisoned arrows came from the Cojoro Hills. At least several Indians stated that that was

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even *from the Indian point of view* that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots on because they expected the men, and sure enough a couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense, if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves before they left, for normally both men and women have their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is *Sylvilagus cunicularis*.) They showed us the short throwing clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfailingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expression on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder 7-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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Warrior with poisoned arrows

Below: A chief's mother surrounded by female slaves

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[Facing p. 129]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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291 Bowman
411

Below: *Mule caravan near the Indian border*

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[facing p. 160]

They make designs on their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before daybreak, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are very scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

441 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

278 To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the waist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

282 A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Fire-arms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

469 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

434 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 30 odd matrilineal *eiru* ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important *eiru* are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Weston, 1937, p. 130, for a list of the various *eiru*, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any *eiru* are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities one *eiru* may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 151), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The *eiru* which is largest and wealthiest in Southwick is that of the Uriana. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paraquet (a song bird), and Uriana gecko (a lizard). The